MUNICIPAL SLAVERY The City of Savannah's Ownership of Enslaved People By Lacy Elizabeth Brooks

A Professional Internship Report Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies at Armstrong Atlantic State University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Public History During the course of the museum studies class in the fall semester of 2013, I assisted in the development of a web-based presentation for exhibit purposes. At this time I began to develop an idea for a possible internship. I contacted Luciana Spracher, the director of the City of Savannah's Research Library and Municipal Archives (RLMA), about the possibility of an internship with the RLMA. The RLMA was interested in pursuing a project analyzing the City of Savannah's antebellum ownership of enslaved people. The RLMA conducted some research in 2007 regarding this history, but was interested in expanding the research across multiple collections and providing better access to these primary documents. At the time of the first meeting there was no clear idea of what the final project would look like or even what it might be called. I presented the idea of the subject presentation to Spracher after reviewing web exhibits from the Library of Congress, the Digital Library of Georgia, the Digital Public Library of America, the Ships of the Sea Museum and many other university libraries. A subject presentation provides in prose form the research conducted across collections, cited and supplemented with scanned documents.

The Project

This project consists of research of archival materials documenting the overall participation of the City of Savannah in ownership of enslaved people from 1790 to 1865. From the archived documents I made a selection to scan and cite. I created a web-based subject presentation from the research and the documents. The final product provides scholars, students, and researchers better access to primary sources relating to municipal slavery.

The Collections

The Research Library and Municipal Archives is located on the street level of City Hall, 2 East Bay Street. Savannah's City Hall, constructed in 1906, replaced the City Exchange with a new, modern building. The building was constructed with records storage in the basement, which today is still the primary records center for the City of Savannah. The RLMA is charged with collecting, managing, preserving, and making accessible the records documenting the City of

Savannah's history. The RLMA conducts tours of City Hall, creates revolving exhibits, and provides classes to acquaint people with the resources available through the City's library and archives. The RLMA's web page hosts historical documents, research about buildings and historical events, archaeology projects, digitized collections, as well as all of the finding aids for the collections. The RLMA manages records of the City of Savannah government which includes City Council and the City's operating bureaus and departments. In addition to the record center in the basement of City Hall, the RLMA manages records in its library on the first floor of City Hall and the Gamble Building, adjacent to City Hall.

The collections are categorized by collection title, record series number, dates, and record group title. All collections managed by the RLMA have detailed finding aids that include the size of the collection, a brief history of the department that created the collection, scope and content of the collection and any sub-series arrangements for the collection. The bulk of the archival documents for the project are from the 5600 series, which are some of the oldest collections in the RLMA.

The 5600 series is arranged according to the department that created the records. There are approximately eighteen departments and organizations represented in this collection, which include more than 3,000 volumes and hundreds of document cases and folders. The City Treasurer collection has more than 1,100 volumes. Some of the collection has been placed on microfilm and can be accessed at the Live Oak Public Library's Bull Street location. Other parts of the collection have been digitized recently and are now available for public use through the RLMA webpage. The Mayor's Reports are available through the University System of Georgia's GALILEO site or photocopies are available on the shelves at RLMA.

Methodology

Spracher instructed me on the organizational method for the collections and on how to cross reference finding aids with location guides for each collection. I reviewed the finding aids to determine a list of collections that most likely would provide information regarding the City's participation in slave labor. To completely review every document and every volume within the RLMA collections would require a greater amount of time than the internship allowed. Due to this limitation, I decided to make a list of departments that were most likely to provide documentation of City ownership of slaves as well as use of slave labor. For this process I eliminated any collections that originated after 1865. I further narrowed my search by focusing on collections that related to transactions, purchases, resolutions, and ordinances. Many of the council documents, city attorney's documents, and the City Treasurers documents relate to these actions.

The documents reviewed for this project are drawn from the following collections: City

Treasurer, Mayor's Annual Reports, City Council, and Engineering Department Retrospective

Maps. I reviewed approximately fifty-six volumes from these collections. The City Treasury

reports are some of the most useful records for researchers because they record the everyday

business of the City. Items that many never be recorded within the Council Minutes or concern the

attorney or other departments, are recorded by the City Treasurer; examples include, individuals

paid for services during the Marquis de Lafayette's visit, how much is paid for interment of

paupers, and the cost of a pair of pants for an enslaved man.

I developed a method for reviewing the different volumes chosen from the collections. In the earliest years there were some irregularities among the treasurers' recorded transactions. The majority of the City Treasurer volumes examined listed credits on the left page and debits on the right page and each transaction was separated by departmental headings such as Exchange, Market, Jail, Streets and Lanes, and Scavengers. The Mayor's Annual Reports were consistent in content

and include the mayor's report of goals, city growth and improvement supplemented by departmental reports and statistics, and the treasurer's fiscal report.

The City Council Minutes record council meetings including members present, petitions made, committee reports, resolutions and ordinances passed. For all volumes reviewed the following search terms were used: slave/slaves, Negro/Negroes, free people of color,

African/Africans, scavenger/scavengers, and streets and lanes. A transcript of the notes collected from the volumes researched is included.

Research

I searched the City Treasury records first. In 1790 the newly established Savannah City Council established the office of City Treasurer. The Treasurer's responsibilities included maintaining accurate financial books, payment of bills approved by Council, collecting money due on taxes, rents, fees, and licenses as well as many other duties. The earliest records for the City Treasurer date from 1791; the volume records ground rents of City property owners. I reviewed the following sub-series: Account Ledgers, Annual Settlements, and Cash Books. Many volumes in the City Treasurer series date after 1865; therefore, I eliminated them.

The Annual Settlements, 1819 to 1853 is a single volume. No other years are available. I chose to review this volume first to provide a quick look at the years included. Annual settlement statements are compiled from the account ledgers and cash books. The Annual Settlement Report, 1819 to 1853 was relatively consistent, although deciphering handwriting was a challenge. I searched the volume for incidental charges, streets and lanes, scavengers, jail, and city marshal; subcategories included free people of color, Negro, and slaves. I eliminated most records within the list of credits because they related to collection of taxes or real property. The credits received from the City Marshal or the City Jail provided some detail when it related to the sub-categories. Most information was provided by the debits column. The Annual Settlements did not provide the

daily information or the payee or payer, but it did provide confirmation of transactions from specific years in which to do further research.

The Annual Settlements book provided information establishing a time-line in which to investigate cash books and the City Council Minutes at a later time. The settlement year of 1820 to 1821 had settlements regarding "Africans." Specifically, the "Incidental Charges" listed "clothing and shoes for Africans" and under the heading "Streets and Lanes" settlements paid to "Mr. Richardson supporting Africans at work \$2,312.60." At this time it was unclear who the Africans in these transactions were. Four settlement years proved to have recorded purchases of enslaved men for the Scavengers Department which was responsible for debris removal. In the year 1829-1830 three people were recorded as purchased under the heading "slaves" for "\$662.50." These men were named in the record as Chance, Monday, and Bob. In the year 1831-1832 under the heading "slave," another man was purchased for the Scavengers Department named Ben. Between January 1832 and July 1832 and again between 1841 and 1842 records show purchases of enslaved men for the Scavengers Department. No names are included in the purchases. Other relevant information found among the settlement statements includes insurance paid for slaves, and subsistence and medical services paid for enslaved people.

Working from the timeline of the Annual Settlement Book I continued my research in the Account Ledgers for City Departments. The three volumes begin in 1837 and conclude in 1857. The overall condition of these volumes is poor. Account Ledger Volume 1, 1837-1844 has transactions for Monday and Ben. In October 1837, Monday was paid \$4.12 for "sawing wood." In April 1841, Ben's name is recorded as being a payee under the Scavengers Department but the labor is not listed. Later years provided more detail about repairs the Scavengers and Streets and

¹ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Annual Settlements, Volume 1, 1819-1853, Record Series Number: 5600CT-400, 4-7, 22-26, 54.

² City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Account Ledgers-City Departments, Volume 1, 1837-1844, Record Series Number: 5600CT-360, 26, 116.

Lanes were making but little detail about whom was providing the labor. The other two volumes have no other records of the individual men or the Scavengers Department.

The sub-series "Cash Book" is listed twice in the City Treasurer's record series. Overall the cash books provided much more information regarding City business. The majority of the cash books are part of the seventy-six volumes that record department transactions. However, there are two cash books that were archived separately and both are considered volume one in the sub-series; it is within this series of cash books that the finding aid's scope and content lists "slaves" for one of the volumes. This is the only finding aid that lists slaves in the City Treasurer's records.

Within Cash Book Volume 1, 1806-1809 I found no records of relevance regarding slaves. The Cash Book Volume 1: 1824-1831 lists slaves in the finding aid and within this volume in May 1830 Chance, Monday, and Bob are listed. Later in July 1831, Ben is recorded as well. These men were part of the time-line from the Annual Settlements, 1819-1853.³

The second sub-series of cash books also begins in 1806 and lists credits and debits.

Among this sub-series I found volumes that recorded slave purchases. Cash Book Volume 4, 1824 to 1832 and Cash Book Volume 5, 1825 to 1830 lists the enslaved Scavenger men Chance,

Monday, Bob, and Ben, but in these volumes the purchase is recorded with the name of the city agent who made the purchase. Again in February 1832, the Scavengers Department purchased two men by city agents. The transaction was recorded in Cash Book Volume 6, 1832 to 1835, but the enslaved men's names are not listed.⁴

I reviewed additional volumes of cash books and recorded relevant information regarding the Scavengers. Due to time constraints not every transaction regarding the hiring-out system was

³City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer Cash Books, Volume 1, 1824-1831, Record Series Number: 5600CT-540, 267.

⁴ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Cash Books, Volume 4, 1824-1832, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 132.; City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Cash Books, Volume 5, 1825-1830, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 236, 246.; City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Cash Books, Volume 6, 1832-1835, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 6-7.

noted. I did note years that had more instances of the use of hiring-out. Review of the Cash Book, 1835 to 1844 provided information of the expansion of the Scavengers Department. In June 1842 the Scavengers Department purchased another man, but no name was provided. The City Treasury records indicated a new Scavengers building and dwelling was constructed. I reviewed the Cash books through 1853 and found no other purchases for the Scavengers Department.⁵

I began a review of the printed Savannah Mayor's Annual Reports. The annual reports were issued beginning in 1845 until the City Manager took over the annual report in 1955. Some copies have been digitized from the microfilm collection of the University of Georgia and are available through the Digital Library of Georgia. There are no known copies available before 1854. I reviewed each report for possible municipal works that would have used slave labor. Within the Mayor's Report from 1855, I found information about the reorganization of the Scavengers Department. There is no mention of the men attached to the department. There is no report for 1859. The 1861 report by Mayor Charles C. Jones discusses the Water Works and repairs to the canal that services the water plant. A decision that Jones called "economical," was made to purchase two enslaved men for the use of the Water Works. The amount is also reported by the treasurer in the annual fiscal statement, with the purchase totaling \$1,610.00.6 The additional mayor reports were reviewed, but no other information was found regarding the service of these men in the annual reports. There is no report for 1864 or 1865.

Updating my time-line regarding the changes in the Scavengers Department and the purchase of the men for the Water Works, I resumed my review of the cash books. The enslaved men were found in the Cash Book Volume 15, 1861 to 1866. Many of the cash books overlap, with some reporting details that the other book does not. There are two cash books that cover the

⁵ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer. Cash Books, Volume 8, 1839-1844, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 294.

⁶ City of Savannah, Georgia Records, Annual Report, Mayor's Report, Charles Jones, Jr, 1861, 16, 31.

time-line for the purchase of the men for the Water Works. Only one book records the purchase.

The superintendent Maxine Desvergers is listed as the agent purchasing the men for the City. The names for these men are not known.

Previous research by the RLMA revealed that the last man purchased by the City was a man named Ellick. He was sold by Sarah Cope in July 1864 for \$4,500.00 Confederate dollars. It was thought the sum was extravagant. I reviewed the inflation rate for the date of the purchase and in US dollars it was closer to \$225.00.8

Using the time-line, I began reviewing the City Council Minutes books. The bound volumes of this collection continue to be managed by the Clerk of Council in the Clerk's vaults and are accessed by appointment. This collection has also been indexed and microfilmed; the microfilm for these volumes is available at the Live Oak Public Library, Bull Street Branch.

Office of the Clerk of Council dates to the 1790 establishment of the Savannah City Council. The Clerk is the official record keeper and is responsible for the security of valuable City documents, maintaining official codes, ordinances, records, and documents.

The minute books not only record City business, but also concerns brought before the City Council. Each volume contains a handwritten index included in the front for quick reference. Not all years have the same detail in the index, but include a heading and the corresponding page. For example under "N" I found "Neptune Schooner", next to which was written: "permission granted to land 57 slaves brought from Africa p. 366." I searched each index in the volumes for the specific words: Africans, slave or slaves, Negro or Negroes, scavenger, streets and lanes, and free people of color. Some search words were found in the headings for the index, other times the words were found in the annotated line next to the heading. Some volumes overlap, providing information that may not have been indexed in one or the other volume. I searched twenty-seven volumes and scanned pages to be included in the web presentation.

⁷ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer. Cash Books, Volume 15, 1861-1866, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 48.

⁸Tim, McMahon, "Confederate Inflation Rates: 1861-1865," InflationData.com, April 3, 2013.

Within the Minutes Book 1791-1796 was the earliest record of possible municipal ownership of slaves. On June 15, 1790 City Council resolved, "that all male slaves between the ages of 16 and 60 years, in or belonging to the City and the Hamlets thereof, be summoned out on the first Monday in July next (to continue for the space of one week) to work and clear the streets..." The statement suggests that the City of Savannah owned enslaved people. ⁹ By 1812, the City was requiring free men of color to work one day a week on the construction of the jail fortifications. Ordinances like this continued to be used to manipulate the lives of free people of color and enslaved people until the Civil War. ¹⁰

Much of the information regarding the City of Savannah's ownership of enslaved people is found in the minutes books from 1832 to 1842. During these years City Council directed the City Marshal on several occasion to purchase "able bodied Negroes." In 1842, the Streets and Lanes Committee reported to City Council regarding the status of the department. The report included the number of men owned and hired as well as the difficulty of the work for which these men were responsible. The committee stated that the labor the Scavenger men performed was harder than plantation work.¹¹

Using the Council Minutes of 1844 and corroboration from the Cash Books, I investigated possible locations for living quarters of the enslaved men. The minutes record that both the City Pound lot and the Scavengers lot had dwellings, but it is unclear in which building the men might have lived. 12

Web Presentation

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⁹ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-Clerk of Council's Office. Official Proceedings of City Council, Minutes of Council1791-1796, Record Series Number: 5600CL-005.1-A, 31.

¹⁰ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-Clerk of Council's Office, Official Proceedings of City Council, Minutes of Council 1808-1812, Record Series Number: 5600CL-005.1-A, 468.

¹¹ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-Clerk of Council's Office, Official Proceedings of City Council, Minutes of Council 1841-1843, Record Series Number: 5600CL-005.1-A, 99, 141-143.

¹² City of Savannah, Georgia Records-Clerk of Council's Office, Official Proceedings of City Council, Minutes of Council 1844-1846, Record Series Number: 5600CL-005.1-A. 18.

The development of the web pages to present the subject research began at the start of the internship with reviews of other institutional hosted web pages. During discussions with Spracher, we agreed that the final product should have a dynamic presentation. We reviewed the Ships of the Sea Museum site, which hosts examples of web exhibits from an online web template program called Wix.com. Wix.com provides prepared templates into which a user can import text and images to create visually dynamic web pages without needing professional assistance. The site is designed for people with some computer experience, but with a small investment in time is relatively easy to learn. Building the pages requires a greater investment of time. I built the pages around the scanned documents.

When making the selection for digitization of documents, I considered the relationship of the City's purchase of enslaved people. I digitized all Cash Book records which listed purchases of slaves. Any record including the name of a City enslaved man, I also digitized. I digitized evidence of the increased activities of the Streets and Lanes Department, which was an entire page of payments. The City Council Minutes that I digitized related to the resolutions of purchasing slaves, as well as the reports of the Streets and Lanes Committee that related to slave ownership. Other Council Minutes that I digitized include documentation of some of the first records of City ownership of enslaved people and the use of the African refugees from the Antelope. And last, I digitized minutes and maps which discussed the buildings and dwelling of the Scavengers Department which might have been living quarters for the enslaved men. In total, I scanned more than forty-two primary source documents, but because of redundancy in the Council Minutes only thirty-six are part of the presentation.

From the notes and research, I created an introduction article to the municipal use of enslaved people, as well as detailed information regarding the Scavengers Department men and the Africans of the *Antelope*. The web presentation also includes full-text transcripts for documents used from the City Council Minutes Books and a time-line of the enslaved men of the City of

Savannah. I prepared all of the images used on all of the pages, as well as all image document citations. I was creative director for the web design including all page designs. Spracher was the executive editor of all designs and text. The final project will go live in May when the web pages are linked to the City of Savannah's site. Spracher has asked me to make a presentation of the work.

Eleven men were found in the reviewed collections who were purchased between 1830 and 1864. Of these eleven men, six names have been revealed: Monday, Chance, Bob, Ben, London, and Ellick. The search revealed that most enslaved men were purchased for the Scavengers Department through the Streets and Lanes Department's direction. The cemetery database was searched for these names, but without last names and dates of birth it is impossible to determine if these are the former enslaved men of the City of Savannah.

The project provides researchers online access to documents relating to municipal slavery and when linked to the Digital Library of Georgia will provide national access. The student or scholar will no longer have to visit the RLMA to review the finding aids to determine which collections to search. Continued digitization of primary sources improves historical documentation and might spark continued historical investigation of subjects needing greater exposure.

Subject Presentation

I have provided screen shots of the web presentation. Included with the screen shots are the corresponding essays.



"Home Page"

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Municipal Slavery

During the nineteenth century, the City of Savannah participated in the use of slave labor through the hiring-out system and owning slaves for work on municipal projects. Many slaves were rented or "hired-out" to others who paid the owner for the services of the enslaved person. Some slaves were able to hire themselves out and keep the wages.[1] In 1835 the City of Savannah paid Mary E. Long and the City Marshal multiple times for the services of an enslaved man named Adam.[2] The City used slave labor to repair roads, clear roads of weeds, trash or dead animals, and at different times to work on local fortification

To regulate the lives of enslaved people and free people of color the Savannah City Council passed ordinances. One such ordinance regulated their ability to work in the city. To work within the City of Savannah, City Council required work badges for all enslaved people and free people of color. The badges were priced according to categories and the fee was paid to the Clerk of Council, who maintained a record for all badges sold. The badges were good for one year.[3]

In the 183Os and again in the 184Os, City Council authorized purchases of enslaved men for City use in the Scavengers Department. Research suggests that different dwellings were created that might have been locations for the enslaved men to live, but this has not been confirmed. Two possible places are the City Pound and the Scavengers Lot. During the 184Os, the City Pound was moved and rebuilt with a dwelling attached. The new home of the Pound was a location behind the Old Cemetery at Perry Lane. The City Pound is no longer at this location, but today this area is a park at the corner of Abercorn Street and Perry Lane behind Colonial Cemetery.[4] The second possible location for the enslaved men was the Scavengers Lot at West Boundary Street. A map from 1888 shows the dwelling as well as the stables, sheds and a chicken coop. Today this area is part of the overpass network of US Highway 17 that leads to the Talmadge Bridge.[5]

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In May of 1861, a purchase of two men for the Water Works was made. The Mayor's Annual Report lists the purchase as an "economical move". The superintendent of the Water Works, M. Desvergers, was recorded in the City Treasurer's Cash Book Volume 15: 1861-1866 as the purchaser of the two men. A review of City Council Minutes several months before and several months after May 1861 did not produce a resolution corresponding to the purchase of the two men. No other information was found regarding the Water Works men.



"Water Works", May 28, 1861, 5600CT-410 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Cash Book, 1861-1866. p.27.

A previous preliminary search of the City Deeds Collection provided one recorded deed for an enslaved person, which appears to be the last purchase of an enslaved person by the City. On the 21st day of July, 1864 a deed for the sale of Ellick was recorded; the City paid \$4,500.00 for the enslaved man. Inflation rates from the time period indicate that the Confederate dollars that Sarah Cope received equaled \$225 US dollars.[6]

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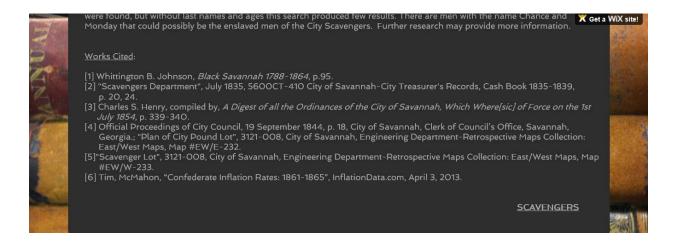








Many of the Treasurer's records lack the names for the enslaved people that the City owned or hired, making it difficult to fully document the history for these people. The Scavenger men are not found in the City Treasurer's records after 1853, when the department was reorganized. Other than Mayor's Annual Report of 1861 and the Cash Book of 1861-1866 no other records regarding the men of the Water Works have been found. A search of the cemetery database was conducted using names that were found, but without last names and ages this search produced few results. There are men with the name Chance and



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Clerk of Council, who maintained a record of all badges sold. The badges were valid for one

year. 15

In the 1830s and again in the 1840s, City Council authorized purchases of enslaved men for the use of the City in the Scavengers Department who removed debris from City streets.

¹³ Whittington B. Johnson, *Black Savannah 1788-1864*, (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1995), 95.

¹⁴ City of Savannah, Georgia Records-City Treasurer, Cash Books, Volume 15, 1835-1839, Record Series Number: 5600CT-410, 20, 24.

¹⁵ Charles S. Henry, compiled by, A Digest of all the Ordinances of the City of Savannah, Which Where[sic] of Force on the 1st July 1854, 339-340.

Information found among the collections of the Research Library and Municipal Archives suggests that different dwellings were created that might have been locations for the enslaved men to live, but this has not been confirmed. Two possible places are the City Pound and the Scavengers Lot. During the 1840s, the City Pound was moved and rebuilt with a dwelling attached. The new home of the Pound was a location behind the Old Cemetery at Perry Lane. The City Pound is no longer at this location, and today this area is a park at the corner of Abercorn Street and Perry Lane behind Colonial Cemetery. The second possible location for the enslaved men was the Scavengers Lot at West Boundary Street. A map from 1888 shows the dwelling as well as the stables, sheds, and a chicken coop. Today this area is part of the overpass network of US Highway 17 that leads to the Talmadge Bridge. The second possible location for the enslaved men was the Scavengers Lot at West Boundary Street. A map from 1888 shows the dwelling as well as the stables, sheds, and a chicken coop. Today this area is part of the overpass network of US Highway 17 that leads to the

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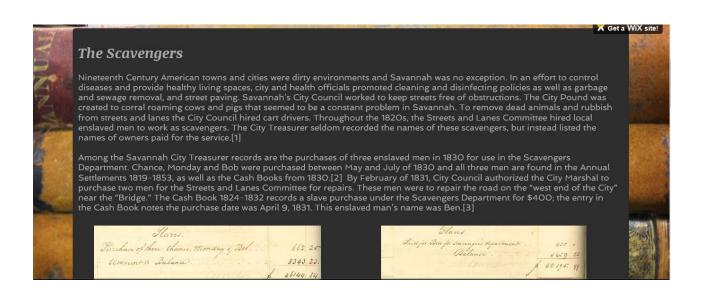
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¹⁶ City of Savannah, Engineering Department-Retrospective Maps, Plan of City Pound Lot, Record Series #: 3121-008, Map # EW/W-233. City of Savannah, Georgia Records-Clerk of Council's Office, Official Proceedings of City Council, Minutes of Council 1844-1846, Record Series Number: 5600CL-005.1-A, 18.

¹⁷ City of Savannah, Engineering Department-Retrospective Maps, Plan of Scavenger Lot, Record Series #: 3121-008, Map # EW/E-232.

¹⁸ Tim, McMahon, "Confederate Inflation Rates: 1861-1865", InflationData.com, April 3, 2013.

Many of the treasurer's records lack the names for the enslaved people that were owned or hired by the City, making it difficult to fully document the history for these people. The Scavenger men are no longer found in the City Treasurer's records after 1853 when the department was reorganized. After Mayor Jones' report of 1861 no other records regarding the men of the Water Works have been found. I searched the cemetery database using names that were found, but without last names and ages this search produced few results. There are men with the name Chance and Monday that could possibly be the enslaved men of the City Scavengers. Further research may provide more information.



At the beginning of 1832 the City Council was again resolved to purchase "two able bodied Negro men" for the use of the "City, Streets and Lanes and the Scavengers Department." Late in February there is a recorded payment of \$825 for the purchase of two men whose names are not given. [4]

On Motion of alume Minus
Resolved that the City Marshal be
authorised under the direction of the street & Lane Committe
to purchase two able bodied Megratment for the City. The
shavenges ae partment and the street & Lane requiring

Official Proceedings of City Council, 12 January 1832, 2, City of Savannah, Clerk of Council's Office, Savannah, Georgia. (Council Minutes)

Vervensor Grantment:
Gauging purchase dilumn. 855.

Ten years later the rail road boom and subsequent population increase required an increase in Savannah's municipal services X Get a WIX site!

Scavengers Department was expanded and provided with buildings, sheds and a dwelling. In the 1842 annual report to the City Council by the Streets and Lanes Committee, three men are listed as being owned by the City and two of these men were purchased during the previous year. Only one purchase record was found. The purchase was made in June 1842 for \$250.00; the enslaved man's name is unknown.[5] The Committee report describes the work the Scavenger men performed as more difficult than plantation work; requiring the men to be "young vigorous and active." According to the Streets and Lanes Report, one of the men was jailed at the request of the Committee and they requested the City Marshal sell him. The Committee believed he was planning to escape. The Committee and they requested the City Marshal sell him. The Committee believed he was planning to escape. The Committee is report states eight other "Negro" men were hired by the year at \$125. City Council Minutes reveal that the City Marshal sold the man owned by the City in November 1842. His name was London and he was sold for \$252.50. No other purchases of enslaved men were found specifically for the Scavengers Department or for the Streets and Lanes Department. The last known entry for Ben is dated February 22, 1845 for a pair of pants. From this date it can be inferred that Ben was one of the men from the Streets and Lanes Committee. The Scavengers Department was reorganized in 1853 as a contract for an annual fee of \$9,000. The carts, mules and supplies were sold under the new contract. No records were found regarding what happened to the men that were part of the Scavengers Department.[6]

**Authorized Advisor Advisor



The Scavengers

Nineteenth-century American towns and cities were dirty environments and Savannah was no exception. In an effort to control disease and provide healthy living spaces, city and health officials promoted cleaning and disinfecting policies as well as garbage and sewage removal, and street paving. Savannah's City Council worked to keep streets free of obstructions. The City Pound was created to corral roaming cows and pigs, which seemed to be a constant problem in Savannah. To remove dead animals and rubbish from streets and lanes the City Council hired cart drivers as scavengers. Throughout the 1820s, the Streets and Lanes Committee paid for the labor of local enslaved men to work in the Scavengers Department; however, the City Treasurer seldom recorded the names of these scavengers, instead listed the names of owners that were paid for the service. ¹⁹

Among the Savannah City Treasurer records are the purchases of three enslaved men in 1830 for use in the Scavengers Department. Chance, Monday, and Bob were purchased between May and July of 1830 and all three men are found in the Annual Settlements 1819-1853, as well as the Cash Books from 1830.²⁰ By February of 1831, City Council authorized the City Marshal to purchase two men for the Streets and Lanes Committee for repairs. These men were to repair the road on the "west end of the City" near the "Bridge." The Cash Book 1824-1832 records a slave purchase under the Scavengers Department for \$400; the entry in the Cash Book notes the purchase date was April 9, 1831. This enslaved man's name was Ben.²¹

¹⁹ "Expenses," January 1827, MS 5600CT-410 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Cash Book, 1825-1830, 83.; "Streets, Docks, & Trees," May 1828, MS 5600CT-410 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Cash Book, 1825-1830, 142.

²⁰ "Slaves", Year 1829-1830, MS 5600CT-400 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Annual Settlements Book, 1819-1853.

²¹ Official Proceedings of City Council, 24 February 1831, 197, City of Savannah, Clerk of Council's Office, Savannah, Georgia.

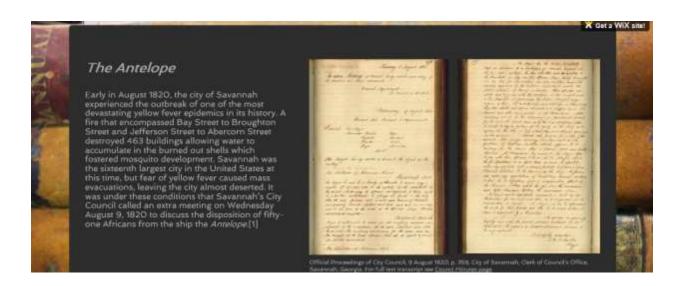
At the beginning of 1832 the City Council was again resolved to purchase "two able bodied Negro men" for the use of the "City, Streets and Lanes and the Scavengers Department." Late in February there is a recorded payment of \$825 for the purchase of two men whose names are not given. ²²

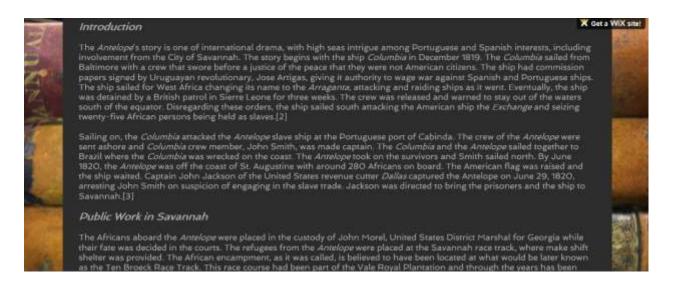
Ten years later, a railroad boom and subsequent population increase required an increase in Savannah's municipal services. The Scavengers Department was expanded and provided with buildings, sheds, and a dwelling. In the 1842 annual report to the City Council by the Streets and Lanes Committee, three men are listed as being owned by the City and two of these men were purchased during the previous year. Only one purchase record was found. The purchase was made in June 1842 for \$250.00; the enslaved man's name is unknown. ²³ The Committee report describes the work the Scavenger men were performing as more difficult than plantation work; requiring the men to be "young vigorous and active." According to the Streets and Lanes Report, one of the men had been jailed at the request of the Committee. The Committee directed the City Marshal to sell the man. The Committee believed that he was planning to escape. The Committee's report states eight other "Negro" men were hired by the year at \$125. City Council Minutes reveal that the City Marshal did sell the man owned by the City in November 1842. Named London, he was sold for \$252.50. No other purchases of enslaved men were found specifically for the Scavengers Department or for the Streets and Lanes Department. The last known entry for Ben is dated February 22, 1845 for a pair of pants. From this date it can be inferred that Ben was one of the men from the Streets and Lanes Committee. The Scavengers Department was reorganized in 1853 as a contract for an annual fee of \$9,000. The carts, mules and supplies were sold under the new

²² Official Proceedings of City Council, 12 January 1832, 2, City of Savannah, Clerk of Council's Office, Savannah, Georgia.; "Scavengers Department," Year 1832, MS 5600CT-400 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Annual Settlements Book, 1819-1853.

²³ "Streets and Lanes," June 1842, MS 5600CT-410 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records, Cash Book, 1839-1844, 294.

contract. No records were found regarding what happened to the men that were part of the Scavengers Department.²⁴





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²⁴ Official Proceedings of City Council, 25 August 1842, 142, 185, City of Savannah, Clerk of Council's Office, Savannah, Georgia.; "Scavengers Dept.," February 22, 1844, MS 5600CT-410 City of Savannah-City Treasurer's Records Cash Book, 1839-1844, 20.; City of Savannah, Georgia Record, Annual Report, Mayor's Report, Edward Anderson, 1856, 4.





"The Antelope"

Among the Minutes of 1820 I found information regarding the Africans found earlier in the cash book. The scanned documents are part of the web subject presentation. To complete the research into the identity of the Africans, I consulted outside sources. The following is the story of the Antelope which is part of the subject presentation of the City of Savannah's use of slave labor for municipal work.

The following essay is an introduction to the history of the Antelope and the City of Savannah's involvement in the events. The essay is not a complete record of the events. It is intended to facilitate scholarly interest and research by providing primary sources regarding the City of Savannah's use of fifty-one African refugees from the Antelope. For clarity and continuity with other historical sources the original names of ships involved have been used rather than the pirated names.

The Antelope

Early in August 1820, the city of Savannah experienced the outbreak of one of the most devastating yellow fever epidemics in its history. A fire that encompassed Bay Street to Broughton Street and Jefferson Street to Abercorn Street destroyed 463 buildings allowing water to accumulate in the burned out shells fostering mosquito development. Savannah was the sixteenth largest city in the United States at this time, but fear of yellow fever caused mass evacuations, leaving the city almost deserted. The panic left the city devoid of man power. Under these conditions, Savannah's City Council called an extra meeting on Wednesday August 9, 1820 to discuss the disposition of fifty-one Africans from the ship the *Antelope*. ²⁵

Introduction

The *Antelope's* story is one of international drama, with high seas intrigue among

Portuguese and Spanish interests, including involvement of the City of Savannah. The story began with the ship *Columbia* in December 1819. The *Columbia* sailed from Baltimore with a crew that

²⁵ Preston Russell and Barbara Hines, *Savannah: A History of Her People Since 1733*, (Savannah: Frederic C. Beil, 1992), 81-89.

swore before a justice of the peace that they were not American citizens. The ship had commission papers signed by Uruguayan revolutionary, Jose Artigas, authorizing it to wage war against Spanish and Portuguese ships. The ship sailed for West Africa, changing its name to the *Arraganta*, attacking and raiding ships as it went. Eventually, the ship was detained by a British patrol in Sierre Leone for three weeks. The crew was released and warned to stay out of the waters south of the equator. Disregarding these orders, the ship sailed south, attacking the American ship the *Exchange* and seizing twenty-five African persons being held as slaves.²⁶

Sailing on, the *Columbia* attacked the slave ship *Antelope* at the Portuguese port of Cabinda. The crew of the *Antelope* was sent ashore and *Columbia* crew member, John Smith, was made captain. The *Columbia* and the *Antelope* sailed together to Brazil where the *Columbia* was wrecked on the coast. The *Antelope* took on the survivors and Smith sailed north. By June 1820, the *Antelope* was off the coast of St. Augustine with around 280 Africans on board. The ship was now flying the American flag. Captain John Jackson of the United States revenue cutter *Dallas* captured the *Antelope* on June 29, 1820, arresting John Smith on suspicion of engaging in the slave trade. Jackson was directed to bring the prisoners and the ship to Savannah.²⁷

Public Work in Savannah

The Africans aboard the *Antelope* were placed in the custody of John Morel, United States District Marshal for Georgia, while their fate was decided in the courts. The refugees from the *Antelope* were placed at the Savannah race track, where makeshift shelter was provided. The African encampment, as it was called, is believed to have been located at what later was known as the Ten Broeck Race Track. This race course had been part of the Vale Royal Plantation and has been called "Oglethorpe's Race Track," "Jencks' Old Track," or just the "Race Track." ²⁸

²⁶ John T. Noonan, *The Antelope: The Ordeal of the Recaptured Africans in the Administration of James Monroe and John Q. Adams*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977), 27.

²⁷ John T. Noonan, *The Antelope*, 30-31.; Edward Hatfield, "Jewels in Our Crown", *The Civil History*, 5, No. 1, (2006), 4.

²⁸John T. Noonan, *The Antelope: The Ordeal of the Recaptured Africans in the Administration of James Monroe and John Q. Adams*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1977), 45.; Kwesi DeGraft-Hanson, "Unearthing the

During the court proceedings the parties agreed that the African refugees would work while the court case proceed. One hundred were placed on Morel's plantation, some were rented to Savannah households, and the City of Savannah took receipt of fifty-one people. The City Council Minutes for August 9, 1820 discuss the Africans in the "custody of the Marshal of this District...subject...at all times to the order of the District Judge." These refugees were to pull weeds in the squares as well as leveling fortifications. City Treasury records indicate clothing was purchased for the Africans, and that medicine and medical attention were also provided.²⁹

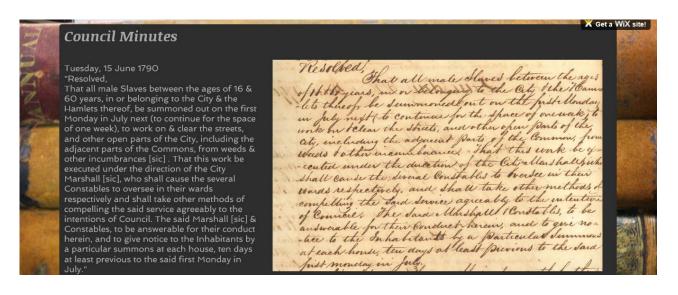
Richard Wylly Habersham, United States District Attorney for Georgia, framed a case for the freedom of the Africans. Representatives for the Spanish and Portuguese interests filed claims for ownership of the Africans. It took seven years for the case to get through the courts. During that time it was determined that 116 of the refugees had died in Savannah. Chief Justice John Marshall concluded that the United States had to recognize the rights of other nations to participate in the slave trade. The Portuguese claim was denied, but to satisfy the Spanish claim, thirty-nine Africans were sold. In July 1827, 131 Africans that the court determined were captured from an American vessel were assembled in Savannah by District Marshal John Morel, they boarded the *Norfolk* and became colonists in Liberia.³⁰

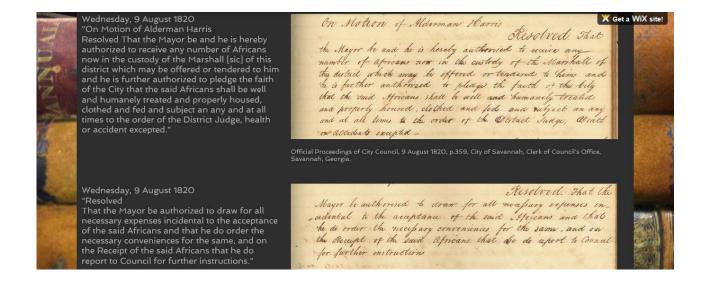
Weeping Time: Savannah's Ten Broeck Race Course and 1859 Slave Sale.", Southern Spaces: An interdisciplinary journal about regions, places, and cultures of the US South and their global connections, Last modified 2010, http://southernspaces.org/2010/unearthing-weeping-time-savannahs-ten-broeck-racecourse-and-1859-slave-sale.

²⁹ John T. Noonan, *The Antelope*, 125.; Official Proceedings of City Council, 8 August 1820, 359, City of Savannah, Clerk of Council's Office, Savannah, Georgia.

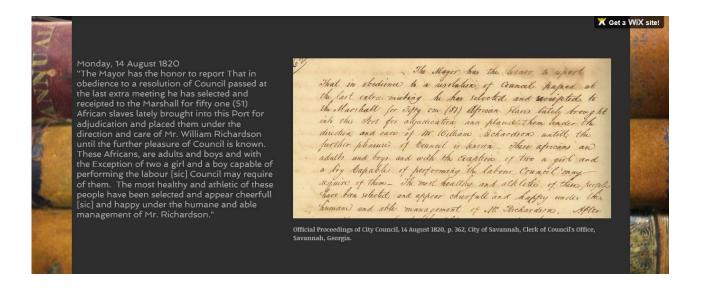
³⁰ John T. Noonan, *The Antelope*, 40 & 135.; Edward Hatfield, "Jewels in Our Crown", *The Civil History*, 5, No. 1, (2006), 4.

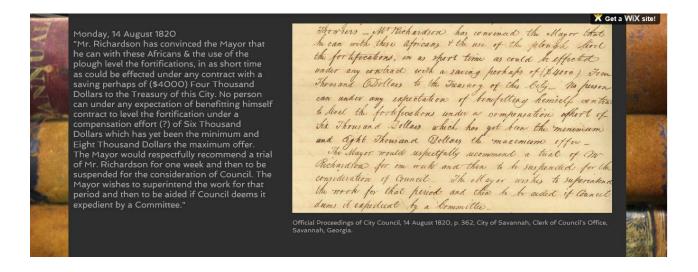
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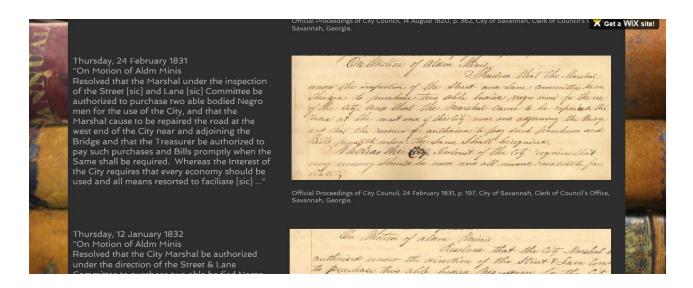


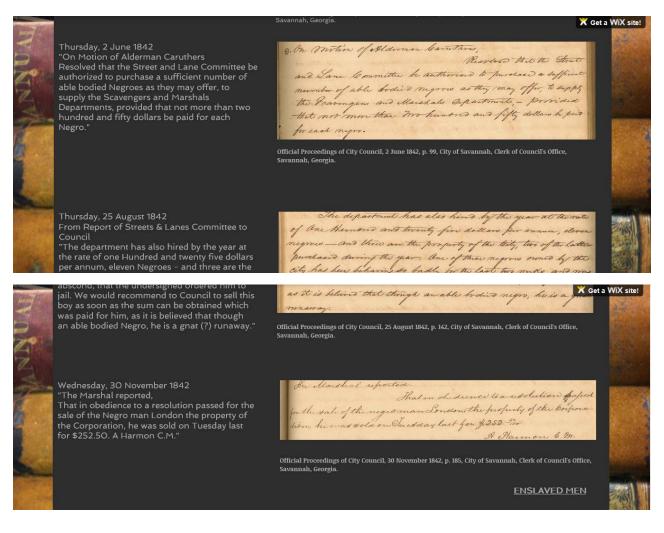












"Council Minutes"

Enslaved Men



"Enslaved Men"

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